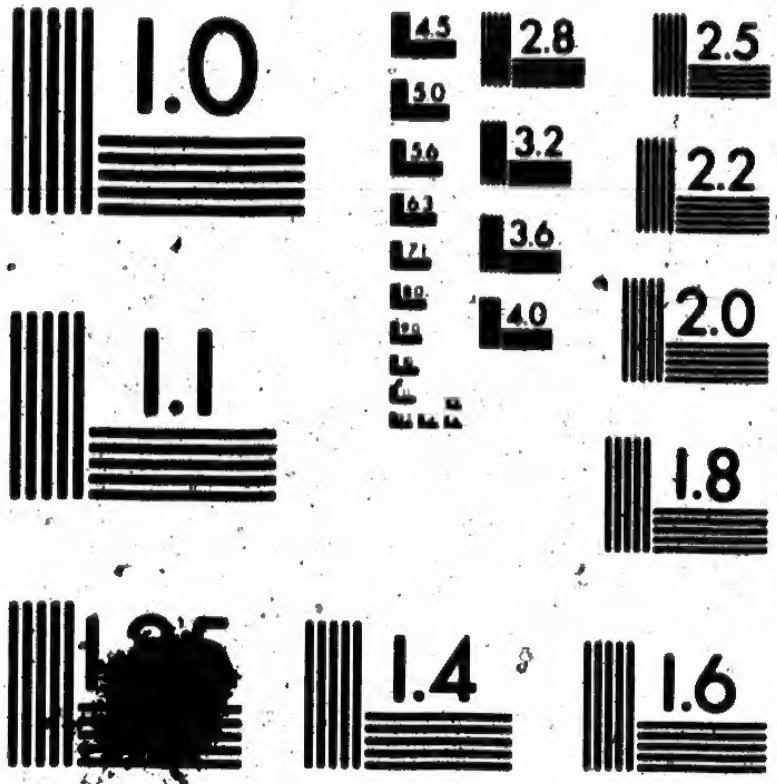

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TWO GREAT SPEECHES

HON. THOS. WHITE

On the Alleged Half-Breed Grievances.

HON. GEO. E. FOSTER

On the National Policy, the Debt, and the Riel Issue.

DELIVERED IN THE CITY HALL, LONDON, ONT., SATURDAY, DEC. 18, 1886.

HON. THOMAS WHITE.

I can assure you I am glad to see so large an audience gathered in London this evening for the purpose of listening to the discussion of public questions. Sir John A. Macdonald, and some of his colleagues, among whom I have had the good fortune to be numbered, have recently been holding meetings in different parts of this great Province, and I can assure you, speaking with some knowledge of political gatherings, having been engaged for many years in political discussions and in meeting large masses of people throughout the country, I have never seen in the history of this Dominion, so far as my personal recollection serves me, a period at which the honored Chieftain of the Liberal-Conservative party has met with such warm, hearty, generous and enthusiastic greetings (cheers). Let me say that these greetings have apparently come, not only from his political friends, who, as you might readily understand, have been most enthusiastic and numerous in all their gatherings, but in all of them we have had large numbers of his political opponents, who have listened to what has been said with respectful attention, and have been pleased to testify by personal observation their respect for the Premier of this great Dominion (cheers). I propose to-night to deal with the subject which at this moment is uppermost in the minds of the people; but before I do so, you will pardon me for a digression. I desire to make a reference personal to myself, which I think is due to you, due to my friends throughout the country, and due to my position as a public man. I noticed that in last night's London *Advertiser* there appears an epistle in double-leaded type, addressed to the Roman Catholic electors of this city, calling their attention to the fact that I am the person, as the writer states, who insulted the Roman Catholics of Haldimand by holding up on a now become memorable occasion, a picture of the deceased Louis Riel with a rope around his neck and immortelles on his breast, and announced him as the latest saint of the Roman Catholic Church. Now, if I had made that statement and been guilty of that insult, I should have felt that not only Roman Catholics, but Protestants, who, although they do not agree with, yet respect the faith of Roman Catholics in this country, would have been justified in refusing me a hearing upon any platform in the Province of Ontario (cheers). What, however, were the facts? I spoke four times in the county of Haldimand. I discussed general public questions, and referred to the Riel matter as only an incident of the discussion; because I declared there, as I declare here, that the Government of Canada is quite prepared to appeal to the people upon their record in relation to their public policy and administration of affairs without the slightest reference to that great event in the North-west, if our political opponents will only be pleased to allow the issue to remain upon those grounds (cheers). Just before I went on the platform at the last meeting which I attended in Cayuga, a friend of mine had received a copy of a portrait of which I had heard before, but which I had never seen, of Louis Riel with a rope around his neck, immortelles on his breast, and an inscription beneath indicating that he was a patriot and a martyr, who had died for

his country. I had heard that French-Canadians had been induced by some of the Rouges to place that picture in their houses, alongside the pictures of holy men of their church, whose lives to them were incentives to good living. Holding up that picture, I denounced those who, in the Province of Quebec, could be guilty of sacrilege in the manner I have described. That speech was delivered on Tuesday night, the last night of the month. On the following day the nomination was held at the same place, Cayuga. Not one single reference was made at that nomination to this matter, although there were present many of the same audience who had been there the night before. On Thursday, the day following, the Hamilton *Times*, which you know is not friendly to the Government—in fact it is almost as unfriendly as the paper in this city, under the directorship of Hon. David Mills (laughter)—this paper on Thursday referred to my mission in Haldimand, and if you have read it you will see how little I was open to the charge, even in the opinion of this paper, of having in any way whatever insulted the Roman Catholics. Here was what the *Times* said, two days after that speech was delivered, and with special reference to the nomination:—(Mr. White here read from the *Times* an article in which it was stated that he had been withdrawn from Haldimand because his utterances were too *pro* Catholic, and conflicted with the high ground taken by Mr. Clarke Wallace and Mr. Dalton McCarthy.) Here two days after that speech was delivered, I found myself attacked for being *pro* Catholic instead of anti-Catholic, and had been withdrawn because my Protestant principles were not sufficiently high to suit the *Mail* programme (cheers). Now, what happened? It was not for a week after that the *Globe* started this story about me holding up this portrait and calling it the latest Catholic saint, because they thought they might do the most injury, not to me personally, but to the Liberal-Conservative party with which I was identified (applause). Some time after this, a friend of mine sent me a copy of the Montreal *Witness* of the 9th of August, and pointed out that the statement which I had made at Haldimand in condemnation of the use of this picture in Quebec, had also been made in a sermon by the parish priest of Notre Dame Church in Montreal. (Mr. White read the extract, which announced that in his sermon, the priest said he had heard of the hanging of these pictures of Riel alongside the pictures of holy men of the church. This practice he condemned in the strongest language.) So you will see that this expression which I used on the platform denouncing the sacrilege of those who would place this picture in juxtaposition to the pictures of holy men of the Catholic Church, had actually been made in a Roman Catholic Church, and the practice I referred to condemned by the Rev. Cure, who was preaching in that church (cheers). In continuing, Mr. White showed how the familiar method of getting up an affidavit on the matter had been adopted by his opponents, and how Grit journals had religiously excluded the explanations which had by himself and others been made. He also said:—I should deeply regret if it could be charged against me that I had insulted any man because of his religious persuasion. I have been for thirty-five years engaged in my own humble way discussing public questions in this Province. I have addressed audiences of French-Canadians in Quebec, and because I have stood shoulder to shoulder with those people, I was accused of being a rotten Protestant by those who are now anxious to catch that vote. I may say that in politics I have no sympathy with those who mix up religious questions, for the simple reason that in this young country there is work enough for us all to do, to make, by united effort, of this country, what we all desire it to become (cheers). I desire now to refer to the speech which was recently delivered in this city by the French leader of the Liberal party, Mr. Laurier. Those of you who had an opportunity of hearing him can testify to his great eloquence and to his personal presence, with which he worthily impresses any audience he addresses. I have not a word to say against his personality, further than to say he has made a great mistake in relation to this particular question; but I desire to point out some facts which he omitted—of course, accidentally (laughter)—in relation to this question of the North-west rebellion. You all understand that the attacking party has a great advantage. All he had to do was to recite passages from petitions, and to assume that these petitions had been neglected. Then, by giving play to that eloquence of which he is so great a master, he hoped to make his audiences believe that these people had serious grievances. I propose, and I think I shall not be unsuccessful, to make a simple, plain statement of the facts connected with the half-breeds of the North-west, and the action of the Government in relation thereto, and when I have done, I think I can leave you to judge how far these people had even a palliation for the offence which they committed in rebelling against the Crown, and how far any Privy Councillor, sworn to protect the Crown, could say that if he had been on the banks

of the Saskatchewan, he would have taken up his gun and fought side by side with the half-breeds (cheers and hisses). The half-breed trouble began soon after we obtained possession of the Territory. They were the descendants of French-Canadians who had gone up there in connection with the trading companies, and when the Government took over the country they found it necessary to extinguish the Indian title in these half-breeds by giving them certain concessions. Governor Archibald, the Governor of Manitoba at the time, was instructed to make an enumeration of the half-breeds, as a preparation to decide how their interests should be protected, and their welfare looked after. At this time 1,400,000 acres of land was set aside for the purpose, and when Governor Archibald had finished the enumeration, the Government decided to give each man 140 acres. Subsequently a different method of dealing with the families was adopted, and they were to have 190 acres each instead of 140. The Government was engaged in settling this matter when, Sir John Macdonald being defeated, his Government went out and Mr. Mackenzie came in. It was the bounden duty of Mr. Mackenzie's Government to have gone on and settled the matter. They did not do so, and the preparations made fell through. Instead of neglecting it altogether, Mr. M. Ryan, of Montreal, was employed by the Government of Mr. Mackenzie to make the enumeration. When he had finished that, it was supposed that 225 acres of land would be given to each half-breed. But in the meantime, the half-breeds of St. Laurent, Qu'Appelle, and other places, had moved off their reservations, and became scattered through the Territories, and this fact greatly embarrassed the question, and made it almost impossible to follow out the division agreed on. Afterwards the half-breeds who had moved off asked to have their land allotments too. On June 14, 1876, Mr. Mills, who was the Minister of the Interior, wrote to Mr. Ryan, asking him if he would accept a commission to settle these claims. Mr. Ryan received no other instructions. On the 3rd of March following he wrote to the Minister that the half-breeds were scattered all over the North-west, and unless he went after them and settled their grants there would be great difficulty in the matter. He apprehended that if he must trust to the coincidence of meeting with those who had claims, the result would not be satisfactory, nor would the work of distribution be finished for many years. To this letter no answer was sent for some time, and I submit that if Mr. Mills was as anxious to have the claims settled as he now pretends to have been, he ought to have instructed Mr. Ryan to make the trip and settle the claims. He did not do that. Here is Mr. Mills' direction to Mr. Ryan in answer to that letter, and to appreciate its full significance you must remember that he is one of the most bitter opponents we have, and in his newspaper and on the stump attacks the Government day after day, in season and out of season, for our indifference and neglect of this very thing. Here are his words to Mr. Ryan :—

"It is not necessary to look up the proofs to the half-breeds' claims. If they care for their interests they will themselves come forward and establish their claims.—D.M." (Laughter.)

That was how "D. M." regarded their claims. Nothing more was done for two years, when Mr. Ryan wrote to the Minister recommending an extension of time for one year to give these people a chance to present their proofs. Again, Mr. Ryan writes :—"The half-breeds are pressing me for an answer. Will the time be extended?" To this Mr. Mills answers with a statement that "the matter is under consideration, and Mr. Dao will probably be authorized to extend the time, and that it was their purpose to appoint his Dominion Land Agent to investigate the claims." That was how Mr. Mills acted. Five years after he appoints a gentleman to investigate these claims, he refuses him the means to do so, and two years later he tells him in reply to an urgent communication that he has the matter of the extension of time under consideration, and is about to appoint a Dominion Land Agent to investigate. Well, Mr. Ryan went to Qu'Appelle on this business and sent in the bill. It was for honest work done, yet Mr. Mills was so indignant that he should attempt to hunt up the men and the proofs that he refused to pay the bill of $75, and it was paid by the Conservative Government on their return to power, and the man Ryan was a bitter opponent of Sir John Macdonald; but he deserved to be paid for his honest work. We have no records in the Department to show the course of the Government, except such scraps of memoranda on the backs of letters such as you are familiar with; and a report prepared by Col. Dennis under instructions, which may be taken probably to indicate pretty clearly the mind of the Minister. According to the report of Col. Dennis, the mode proposed for a settlement was to give to the half-breeds the lands on which they had located—unless it had been taken by settlers or for speculative purposes—in full settlement of their claims. This policy our Government carried out (cheers). Not a single person has ever been

dispossessed of a single foot to which he was rightfully entitled to lay claim by any action or inaction of this Government. And, more than that, the Government has never in these cases stopped to enquire whether the land was taken for speculative purposes or not (cheers). So, if we may judge of the views of the Minister (Mr. Mills) by the action of his agent, our Government has carried out the same policy, yet we are charged with wrong doing and neglect because we have gone far beyond what Hon. David Mills intended to do (laughter). You will remember that Mr. Laurier told you that petition after petition was sent in from the half-breeds complaining of their grievances, and that our Government turned a deaf ear to all of them. Now, let me point out a few facts. These petitions began to come in to the Government just before Sir John went out of power. The first was in 1873, setting forth the claims of the half-breeds for compensation for the extinguishment of the Indian title. Then in 1875 Rev. Father Grandin sent in an elaborate petition, making an extensive series of demands on behalf of the half-breeds. That was in 1875. The subjects referred to in it were important only on this ground, that they were the same as were contained in many other petitions, and were refused. What are the facts? Everything Father Grandin asked was refused by Hon. David Mills in an elaborate paper, except $300 for the building of schools, a grant that was passed by the Government while Sir John was the head of it (loud cheers). Then, there was the petition of Gabriel Dumont, of whom Mr. Laurier spoke so much to the people of London, and to whom he extolled so eloquently the patriotism and loyalty of this Dumont—the man who tried to set up a provisional form of Government, with himself as leader, in the North-west. (The regulations passed by the Reform Government were then referred to.) The petitions from the half-breeds asked that their rights to the lands should date from the time of their settlement; that the price should be confirmed not at what it was at the time of entry, but what it was when they first went on the land as squatters, and that all improvements made before the survey should be allowed for. This was in 1881. Dumont's petition came in to our Government in 1883. What are the facts? Every one of these concessions asked for had been already granted by the Government before Dumont's petition was received (loud cheers). The first was on the 27th of November, 1881, and the second on the 14th of June, 1882, and the last in October, 1882. So, you see, that the last thing they had asked for had been allowed to them before Dumont's petition came in. I ask what you can think of men who will say the Government denied all these people's requests when the records under their hands, if they had chosen to look, would have shown that the Government granted everything that was asked? (Cheers.) Then I come to the survey of land which Mr. Laurier dealt with. He said the Government persistently refused these people their survey. They did nothing of the kind (cheers). The policy of the Mackenzie Government was followed by Sir John A. Macdonald in this respect. In the Act of Parliament relating to the North-west Territories, there was a clause permitting a different kind of survey where the people desired; that if the surveyor went into an unsurveyed portion of the territory, where people were already upon the land, the surveys could be made on the river lot plan, if it was so desired. If, however, they went into a part of the country where there was no settlement, they were to survey in accordance with the general plan, on the rectangular principle. You will agree with me that that was a fair way to proceed (cheers). There was, however, one particular parish, and the petitions had relation to that. It was St. Louis de Langevin, in which the people, having settled after survey, asked that the Government should send up surveyors to re-survey the land. These people had been in the country before the survey, but not in this particular parish. This parish is on the south bank of the Saskatchewan; while they were principally on the north bank. When the survey was made there were but two settlers—Moses Bremner and one Bouchet—and neither asked for the survey on the river lot principle. That is the record as it is in the Surveyor General's office. The surveyor, therefore, went on the rectangular principle, and afterwards these people came across the river and demanded that a re-survey should be made. The Government did refuse to do that, they refuse it now, and they will refuse it (applause). For this reason: That it would not be right nor sound public policy to lay down the doctrine that people coming into the country, and not liking the manner of survey, could ask a privilege which was only applicable to those who had been there previous to survey (hear, hear). If the half breed who was not born on the soil could do it, any body of white settlers could do it as well. They could say on going in there, Give us a different form of survey or we will take up our muskets and make it hot for you. To permit anything of that kind would be to render all government and regulations

abortive (cheers). Although the Government refused to do that, they made a provision by which these people could get their land on the river lot principle after all. Here, for instance, is the letter of the Surveyor-General, bearing date 14th February, 1884, which was long before Riel went into the country and the rebellion broke out, showing how the wishes of these people could be met. That letter was confirmed by an Order-in-Council. I will read the suggestions in that letter :

"The wishes of the settlers could easily be met, without inconvenience or prejudice to the Government, by adopting the following course :

"1st. If the Inspector of Agencies, when on the ground, should be satisfied that the great majority of settlers in a township desire river lots, then he should have power to direct that every homestead fronting on the river in that township shall be composed of four quarter-quarter sections, forming a lot of twenty chains in width by one mile in depth.

"2nd. Except when all the occupants of a section prefer having it allotted into quarter sections, in which case their request should be complied with.

"3rd. Except when all the occupants of two sections desire that the lots shall be ten chains in width, and should extend two miles to the depth of two sections, in which case their request should also be complied with.

"A lot of twenty chains wide by one mile deep would be described in the patent as composed of four quarter-quarter sections.

"A lot of ten chains wide by two miles deep would be described as the western, eastern, northern or southern halves of eight quarter-quarter sections.

"The areas could easily be found by reference to this office."

This letter of Mr. Deville's was acknowledged in one from the Secretary of the Department, on the 20th of March, 1884, stating the approval of the Minister of the suggestions, and informing Mr. Deville that the Inspector of Dominion Lands Agencies had been instructed in accordance with them. The following letter also throws light upon that point :

"Technical Branch, Ottawa, 26th Nov., 1883.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 23rd inst., in which you ask the names of the rivers in the North-west Territory, the frontages of which have been surveyed into river lots, I beg to state that the standing instructions are to lay out river lots along the Saskatchewan, Battle, Bow, Red Deer and Belly Rivers.

"Special instructions have also been given to lay out river lots along the shores of Lake Winnipeg and of the islands in it, and also in three townships fronting on Old Man's River.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

E. DEVILLE,
"Chief Inspector of Surveys.

"J. N. HALL, Esq., Secretary Dep.'t of the Interior."

They not only adopted that course, you see, but they actually sent Mr. Duck, land agent at Prince Albert, to instruct the people how they could get their patents in this way, and also to induce them to make their entries after this plan (cheers). Mr. Duck got Father Andre and Mr. Maullet to go with them to interpret the matter to the half-breeds ; and yet, in spite of all that, they refused to make their entries, because there were emissaries among them who were anxious to make trouble (cheers.) That is the whole question of the river lot surveys. Outside of this parish of St. Louis de Langevin there was no dispute unsettled in connection with the half-breeds of the North-west. I give you these facts in answer to the statement made by Mr. Laurier in regard to surveys (cheers) Then came the only other question about which there was any difficulty, and that was the question of scrip. I dare say that Mr. Laurier here, I know he did in Toronto, referred to the petitions of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, the Bishop of St. Rupert's Land and the Protestant Bishop of Saskatchewan, and stated that the Government persistently refused to regard those petitions. What are the facts? They asked that the half-breeds might be treated as the half-breeds of Manitoba : but although they differed as to the best method, every one of these authorities advised that scrip should not be given to the half-breeds. (Mr. White read the letter of the Archbishop, in which his Grace recommended the survey of a large tract of land for the half-breeds, to be untaxable and inalienable for three generations.) We could not, however, have taken that plan without interfering with other recommendations made. The Bishop of Saskatchewan said that the plan pursued in Manitoba had not been such as to justify a repetition of it in the North-west Territories. Speaking of scrip, he said it would end in disastrous failure. He recommended that the Government should give the half breeds assistance in getting and settling on their lands. The Government have always done that (cheers.) The Bishop of St. Rupert's Land and the North-west Council said it would be unadvisable to set apart lands or give them negotiable scrip. So you see every one of these important authorities, against whom Mr. Laurier would have you believe the Government acted, differed as to the best method of settling the matter. The Government could hardly follow His Grace's plan, although having the greatest respect for his opinion, and recognizing also that no man knows the half-breeds better or has a kindlier feeling towards them ; yet, having regard for the future

development of the country, they could hardly grant that reserves of the size he mentioned should be set apart and remain untaxable or inalienable for three generations. It would not have stood the test for ten years (cheers). This plan provided that unless there was continuous settlement for three years, the half-breed should lose his land. That request was unnecessary. They had the right to go in and break up the land, live at least six months in the year for three years, and having fulfilled that condition, they could get their patents. This request placed them in a worse position than the ordinary white settler (cheers). That has been the course the Government has pursued, but these people pressed for the half-breed scrip, and in this conflict of suggestion and advice, coming from important authorities in the North-west, the cause of the Government was one of difficulty, but the Government determined, nevertheless, to comply with the request of the half-breeds and give them the scrip. It is said they did not do this until the echo of guns at Duck Lake reached the Departmental buildings at Ottawa. I have here the Order-in-Council passed on the 28th of January, 1885, two full months before the rebellion broke out, authorizing the issue of this scrip, and at the head of the Commission sent up was your respected citizens (cheers). What do you think of men who, in the face of that fact, insist that the Government did not move until after the fight at Duck Lake? (Cheers.) I have made a good many challenges at a great many places, that anyone should place his finger on the name of a half-breed who had been deprived of a foot of land through the action or inaction of the Government (great cheering). That challenge remained unanswered until Mr. Laurier spoke in the great Market Hall in Montreal the other day, and repeated his speech in Ontario. What was the answer he gave? In the first place, he said this Government have kept back papers. "This Government have refused to give us papers which would enable us to meet this challenge. Although they have done that, I have discovered two cases which I may cite." One was a case mentioned in a letter of Father Andre's, in which it was said by Mr. Laurier that one Mr. Kelly had jumped his claim and put up a frame house upon it, and the other was the case of Moses Salter, in the parish of St. Louis de Langevin, in the latter case the accused being a half-breed. Even if these cases were as Mr. Laurier stated them they would be of the most ordinary character. Claims are being jumped all the time. To jump the claim of a settler if he happens to be off his land is a most common occurrence in the North-west. If these cases were as stated they would not be cases of a man being put off his land through either the action or inaction of the Government. But what is the fact? I doubt not that most of you have read in the *Free Press* the letter of Mr. Kelly, who curiously enough happened to be in the town of Sarnia (applause). In that letter he gives the full particulars of the dispute with Father Andre, which was a matter entirely between Father Andre and the half-breed. Father Andre wanted to put the half-breed off, and the half-breed unwilling to continue a quarrel with the priest, sold out his claim to Mr. Kelly. Mr. Kelly was pressed to leave, and his brother, who had settled on Hudson's Bay land, and in connection with which the Government had confirmed him, advised him to have no quarrel with the good priest, and so he sold out for $100. He took that $100, and that was the end of it (cheers). I received to-day, however, from my own Department the record of this case. This case of Kelly's was not given in the letter of Father Andre's as a complaint against the Government. It was a letter asking for the appointment of a land agent at Prince Albert, and this case was given as illustrating the evils which might arise from the absence of that agent. That letter of Father Andre's was dated the 7th of June, and in the month of August following the land agent was appointed (cheers). That was the way Father Andre's letter was answered (renewed cheers). That was the way the Government turned an indifferent ear to the representations of these people. The other case was that of Salter's. I find that Salter did make an entry for land, for a quarter section in the parish of St. Louis de Langevin; but there is no record that any half-breed was ever in possession. It is found that shortly after making entry, for what reason does not appear, he asked himself for the cancellation of the entry. The entry was cancelled, the land reverted to the Crown, and that was the end of the case (cheers). That is the case with which Mr. Laurier tried to harrow up your feelings, and by the citation of which he undertook to prove that he, Privy Councillor of the Crown, would have been justified in shouldering his musket on the banks of the Saskatchewan and turned it against the enemy (tremendous cheering). But Mr. Laurier in Toronto, and I suppose here, cited another case which he said proved the wrong which had been done by the Government in dealing with petitions. He referred to the case of Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney to Ottawa, and that

having waited there for some time the Government at last consented to grant what they asked; that this was put in writing, and they went home, giving the news along the line that concessions had been granted. Mr. Laurier says the Government broke its word, and left you with the impression that their word remained to this day broken, and the concessions not granted. Now, I have the particulars of that case with me. Here is the correspondence between Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney and the Government. I will not undertake to read it at length, but will give you a *precis* of the correspondence. Let me point out how this mission was made by Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney. The Government was making a survey in Edmonton district, and had employed a number of surveyors to do it. One of these surveyors, Mr. Michael Dean, of Lindsay, when he had finished what he was sent to do, went on in other places without being instructed to do so by the Government. When the Government heard what he was doing, he was directed to stop until further instructions were received from Ottawa. The people up there thought the Government intended to abandon the survey altogether, and they sent Father Leduc and Mr. D. Maloney to Ottawa with a petition, containing the following requests:

1st. That a river survey be allowed to them, with the two miles limit, as in Prince Albert, North-west Territories, and Manitoba.

2nd. Their claims having been occupied for many years, some of them before the transfer, they asked for the recognition of their titles by the Government, and for their patents

3rd. They asked on behalf of the settlements of St. Albert, Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan that the river lot survey be extended from Edmonton to Fort Saskatchewan, both colonies included, "as elsewhere on the Saskatchewan, at Prince Albert, the Assiniboine and Red River."

4th. They asked for a land office at Edmonton, so that entries might be made and patents issued on the completion of their duties by the settlers.

5th. They asked that persons who had settled in advance of survey should be protected in their rights as if they had settled after survey;

6th. They asked for representation in the Parliament of Canada.

7th. They asked for the abolition of timber dues.

8th. They asked for the appointment of a Registrar at Edmonton or its vicinity.

9th. They asked that the road between Edmonton and St. Albert should be confirmed as a public highway.

10th. They asked for scrip, as had been given to the half-breeds of Manitoba.

A letter was sent from the Department on the 12th April, 1883, replying to the several demands of the petition, as follows:—

1st. The lands were promised to be surveyed into river lots, as requested.

2nd. Patents were promised to be issued as soon as the field notes and plans of the Surveyor were sent to the Department.

3rd. The request of the people of St. Albert, Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan to have their holdings surveyed into river lots, and the right of pre-emption given to them, was promised.

4th. A land agent was promised.

5th. The time spent by settlers on lands in advance of survey it was promised should apply in their application for patents as if spent after survey.

6th. The question of the representation of the Territories in Parliament, it was said, would engage the attention of the Government.

7th. The Government declined to abolish timber dues, holding that they were in the interests of the country, and necessary for the preservation of the timber.

8th. It was promised that a Registrar for the Edmonton District should be appointed.

9th. The regulation of public highways being within the purview of the Lieutenant-General-in-Council, it was promised that the attention of the Governor should be called to that paragraph of the memorial.

10th. It was stated that the Government would consider the question of the claims of the half-breeds of the North-west Territories to scrip.

The Government refused to abolish the timber dues in the interest of the whole country. It was not their policy to abolish them. The regulations allowed any settler to get on the Government land and get out what timber he required for buildings, fencing or fuel, under certain limits, but these little limits were made very wide. If he wanted to go on the Crown lands and cut timber to sell, he must get a permit. So you see the Governmont promised to grant every request of the petition except that and the one relating to the highway, which was not in their province to deal with, and representation in Parliament, which they reserved for further consideration. When the deputation, Father Leduc and Mr. Maloney, got home, they learned that the Government had not sent up instructions in regard to the concessions promised, and on July 30th Father Leduc sent a letter to the Department, drawing attention to the delay. The following answer was sent to him:

"Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 3rd Sept., 1883.

"SIR,—I have the honor, by the direction of the Minister of the Interior, to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th of July last, and to request that you will be good enough to state in what respect, on your return to St. Albert, you found that the promises contained in the letter of the 13th of April, 1883, which were the promises made verbally to Mr. Maloney and yourself when in Ottawa, had not been fulfilled by the Government. I am to call your attention to the fact that not only was Mr. Michael Dean instructed in regard to the survey, but a portion of his return of survey has already been received, and is at the present time being examined, with a view to con-

firmation by the Surveyor-General. I am also to remind you that, until the survey has been completed and approved, the other steps in respect to the claims of settlers at Edmonton, Fort Saskatchewan and St Albert cannot be proceeded with It is the intention of the Minister, however, that no unnecessary time should be lost, and the required action has so far been taken with as much promptitude as possible.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN R. HALL,
"Acting Secretary.

"The Rev. H. Leduc, O. M. I., St. Albert, Saskatchewan."

So, you see, so far from any indifference being manifested in the matter, the surveyor's notes were already in Ottawa when the complaint arrived there, so promptly had the work been done, and the only thing remaining to be done was to submit them to the Surveyor-General for his approval to put the survey into effect. It was important that a man well acquainted with the district and the people should be appointed as registrar, and the man selected to fill that office was Mr. Beaudeau, a French gentleman possessing these requirements, and Mr. Goverean was appointed land agent, and so these things asked for were granted promptly So well satisfied were the people, that when the rebellion broke out, the young men of St Albert, instead of feeling their wrongs, as Mr. Laurier says, these young half-breeds of St. Albert enlisted under Captain George, of Montreal, and took up arms, not as rebels against the Crown, but against their brothers and against Louis Riel, as loyal subjects (immense cheering). So the poor people, about whose wrongs Mr. Laurier is trying to excite your sympathies—these very people were more loyal than Laurier, and fought on the side of the Crown, putting aside their ties of kindred and acting according to the light they had of the Government's intentions. Their course was a lesson which I would to God he and his followers would take to heart (cheers). For they, with their greater opportunities of learning the facts about the rebellion, have less to justify them than had any one of the poor half-breeds, who, as has been admitted by themselves, took up arms without cause. The claim for scrip was the only one not settled in full when Louis Riel went into the country, and it was not a question affecting the half-breeds who rebelled, as over 92 per cent. had already received it. Now, if I wanted to prove to you that the Government settled all these matters satisfactorily, and that the people were fully informed of it, I can do so from their own authorities. I can give you the testimony taken in the trial at Regina. I will give you the evidence of Father Andre on the matter:

"Q.—Will you state, if, since the arrival of the prisoner in the country, up to the time of the rebellion, the Government have made any favorable answer to the demands and claims of the half-breeds? A.—Yes, I know they have acceded to certain demands in regard to those who did not have scrip in Manitoba. A telegram was sent on the 4th of March last, granting the scrip.

"Q.—Before that time? A.—Yes, regarding the alteration of survey of lots along the river, there was an answer from the Government saying they would grant it, and that was an important question.

"Q.—What question, then, remained to be settled? A.—The question of patents—that has also been settled in a certain way, because Mr. Duck was sent, and I went with him as interpreter.

"Q.—What other question remained? A.—Only the question of wood timber"

So, you will see that, according to the sworn testimony of Father Andre, when the rebellion broke out there was just the wood timber question remaining, which the Government declined then, as it does now, to settle in any way. When I was in the North-west, I was met by a deputation of the people of Prince Albert last year. Their one complaint was in nineteen petitions, which were not grievances by any means. So plainly did I explain the matter to them that Mr. Millar, who had always been regarded as one of the greatest opponents of the Government's policy, and one of the strongest Liberals there, got up at a dinner, which was tendered to me by the people of Prince Albert in the evening, and said he was fully satisfied with the justice of the Government (loud cheers). So, I say, Mr. Laurier has not much of a leg to rest upon when he stands up and endeavors to incite the people to support the cause of rebellion (renewed cheers). This man Riel, who has been held up as a martyred patriot, who by the gradual diffusion of education among the Liberals—no, I should say among the Clear Grits, for that is their name (laughter)—this man, who has been elevated as a hero and martyr in this country—this Riel, I ask, what kind of a man was he? Let me show you from the testimony of Father Andre what kind of a hero he was:

"Q.—I believe, in the month of December 1874, you had an interview with Riel and Nolin with regard to a certain sum of money which the prisoner claimed from the Federal Government? A.—Not with Nolin; Nolin was not present at the interview.

"Q.—The prisoner was there? A.—Yes.

"Q.—Will you please state what the prisoner asked of the Federal Government? A.—I had two interviews with the prisoner on that subject.

"Q.—The prisoner claimed a certain indemnity from the Federal Government, didn't he? A.—When the prisoner made his claim, I was there with another gentleman, and he asked from the Government $1 0,000. We thought that was exorbitant, and the prisoner said, "Wait a little, I will take at once $35,000 cash."

You see, ladies and gentlemen, there was nothing mean about Mr. Riel. He would take $35,000 cash, if he couldn't get any more, to leave the country (laughter and cheers). Father Andre continues:

"Q.—And on that condition the prisoner was to leave the country if the Government gave him $35,000? A.—Yes! That was the condition he put.

"Q.—When was this? A.—This was on the 23rd December, 1884.

"Q.—There was also another interview between you and the prisoner? A.—There has been about twenty interviews between us.

"Q.—He was always after you to ask you to use your influence with the Federal Government to obtain an indemnity? A.—The first time he spoke of it was on the 12th December; he had never spoken a word of it before, and on the 23rd December he spoke about it again.

"Q.—He talked about it very frequently? A.—On these two occasions only.

"Q.—That was his great occupation? A.—Yes, at those times.

"Q.—Is it not true that the prisoner told you that he himself was the half-breed question? A.—He did not say so in express terms, but he conveyed that idea. He said, if I am satisfied, the half-breeds will be. I must explain this. The objection was made to him that even if the Government granted him $35,000, the half-breed question would remain the same, and he said, in answer to that, if I am satisfied the half-breeds will be.

"Q.—Is it not a fact he told you he would even accept a less sum than $35,000? A.—Yes, he said, 'use all the influence you can, you may not get all that, but get all you can, and if you get less we will see.'"

Now, that was the motive Mr. Louis Riel had. He wanted the Government to buy him off. When Sir John, in the House of Parliament, said that for $5,000 he could settle the question and get rid of Riel, there were very few who could believe the truth of the statement, though they could not for a moment doubt the sincerity of Sir John's words. But they did not believe there was a man who could be so great a miscreant that for the sake of obtaining a paltry $35,000 he would imperil the lives of his fellow-countrymen and plunge the people into the miseries of war. That is the traitor beside whom Mr. Laurier, the patriotic man, that member of the Privy Council, sworn to protect the Crown, would have shouldered his musket and stood side by side.

A voice—They said Riel was a lunatic, though.

Mr. White—Well, if he was he suffered for his lunacy (enthusiastic cheers). What are we to say, ladies and gentlemen, of public men who stand, one on each side of this table, one of them reciting the wrongs of these half-breeds, and tell you they were so serious, so terrible and so oppressive that Riel, out of mere commiseration for his fellows, came into the country and perilled his own life to further their cause; and the gentleman on the other side of the table, who says Riel was a mere lunatic, that he should have been sent to an asylum, and that the Government should not have hanged him. You had them both here on the platform. You pays your money and you takes your choice, you know—(loud laughter and cheers)—the patriotic, self-sacrificing martyr, as represented by Mr. Laurier; or the drivelling yet sordid lunatic, who didn't know what he was doing, as represented by Mr. Blake. In the evidence of Mr. Nolin, at the trial at Regina, evidence was given to show that Riel was cognizant of the action taken by the Government. I will read you what witness said:

"The next day I received an answer to a telegram from Macdowall; the telegram said that the Government was going to grant the rights of the half-breeds, but there was nothing said about Riel's claim.

"Q.—Did you show the answer to Riel? A.—I showed the reply I received next Sunday.

"Q.—That was in the month of? A.—February.

"Q.—In the beginning of the month? A.—Yes.

"Q.—What did the prisoner say? A.—He answered that it was 400 years that the English had been robbing, and that it was time to put a stop to it; that it had been going on long enough.

* * * * * * *

"Q.—In the beginning of March was there a meeting at the Halcro settlement? A.—Yes.

"Q.—Were you present when that meeting was organized by him? A.—The meeting was not exactly organized by the prisoner; it was organized by me, but the prisoner took advantage of the meeting to do what he did. The object of the meeting was to inform the people of the answer the Government had given to the petition they had sent in."

That was the attitude of Louis Riel. I do not think it is necessary I should detain you much longer. I have given you a plain, unvarnished tale, dealing with the unvarnished record, showing you that so far as this Government being guilty of wrongs, and so far as these half-breeds having that which in any way would have justified that rebellion, I venture to say that no new settlers in any country in the world were ever better treated than those half-breeds (cheers). Go into the Muskoka district and ask the settler how he likes the rules fixed by the Ontario Government with respect to the lumber merchant, and he will tell you whether his troubles are not greater than those of the half-breeds. These half-breeds were complaining that they could not go upon the Crown lands; but here in Muskoka the lumber merchant can go upon the settler's land and take away his timber providing he pays his dues.

These people were not disturbed; they were taken care of. The profession and privileges of their religion were guaranteed to them. Their civil rights were guaranteed them. Everything that they desired they got (cheers). Their grievances were imaginary. On the Saskatchewan there were grievances which did not exist in fact, and there were grievances which had been measured by the $90, at which, as a rule, they sold their scrip. And still we have Mr. Laurier going through this country because of this process of education which I referred to a moment ago, and in Ontario, where a year ago he would hardly have expected to get a respectful hearing, endeavoring to excite the feelings of the people, because, as they say, the Government did not properly treat the half-breeds. And Mr. Laurier, of all places in the country, comes on a platform in the city of London, where one of your young and loyal sons lost his life in defence of his country. Conscious that he was carrying his life in his hand, he makes his will and goes out in the service of his Queen. And yet Mr. Laurier comes here to harrow up the feelings of his friends by saying if he had been on the banks of the Saskatchewan he would have shot him down. God help the man who could make such a cold-blooded statement on a platform in London! Now, ladies and gentlemen, you are, after all, the masters in this matter. We public men may stand on a platform and state our case to you, present our views and give you the evidence, but, after all, under our civil system, you are masters of the position. Your speaking is the effective speaking. I leave you with the record I have stated to-night to do your duty when your time to speak arrives (tremendous and continued cheering.)

HON. GEORGE FOSTER.

When Mr. Foster came forward he received a hearty round of applause. He said:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The only thing I have to be sorry for is that as a result of my long and devious wanderings I have caught a cold, which may make it difficult for you to hear me. However, with your kind co-operation, I will do my best, and hope to succeed in that particular if in nothing more. I felt very much at home in the sleigh in which we were brought to this hall, especially when I saw the young men who came to meet us, and I felt even more at home when I came into the hall and heard the hearty cheers with which you received us. It proved for one thing that the young men have good lungs, which is a very essential thing for good fighters to have. I will take your fighting qualities on trust, having heard your lungs. There is a wonderful bond of Freemasonry uniting the men who fight under the same political banner, and as there are only the two great political parties in Canada, so the visitor from one end of this great Dominion feels at home when he meets his fellow Conservatives at the other, and I hope if any of you should wander down our way, that the reception you would meet with would have a similar effect on you. It is not my intention to touch on the subject so admirably presented by my friend Mr. White. He has placed the subject before you in a fair and impartial manner, not trying to extenuate any of the doings of his own department, nor displaying aught of malice in his statements regarding the other side, but placing his case in your hands honestly and fully, as the jury which having heard the statement of Mr. Laurier and Mr. Blake the other night, are to decide whether this or the other is the true statement, and which side you will sustain. As we go from town to town and city to city on this tour the Government is everywhere received with the same outburst of the approval of the people, and this magnificent reception to-night is but a sample of the others we have received all over the Lower Provinces westward. I believe from what I have seen that the electorate of the Dominion of Canada is stirred to-day as it never has been stirred since the confederation of the Provinces. I believe there is more interest taken in the great questions now before the people, more intelligent discussion on those questions, and more calm consideration of the statements made by the two parties, than there has ever been. I think this is a happy augury for the good government of the country, and for the people coming to a good decision on the questions before them. When a busy people like the Canadians are willing to give over their business and the claims it has on their time, and to come and hear the questions of the day discussed, it looks as if they intended to have full information before making up their judgment. The individual judgment of the people will be deposited in the ballot boxes, and their collective judgment will be the verdict which decides which party is to rule this country for the next five years. We Conservatives do not fear the issue under such circum-

stances. You hear and read the other side in the newspapers daily, and when the turmoil is over and the smoke of the battle cleared away, I have no hesitation in declaring that the fair form of Canada will come forth holding in one hand the maple leaf, and in the other the crown of victory, and place them on the brow of the Liberal-Conservative party (cheers). The people will approve of the claims, policy, name, methods and principles of the Liberal-Conservative party, which for some weeks the members of the Government have been advocating. Now, there is a fair field for discussion, and that in each thing stated when Mr. Blake stands before you he poses as a Liberal; he calls all his opponents Tories; he dives back into the musty records of bygone days when the name of Liberalism meant something; he picks up the fallen garment of noble Liberalism, wraps it around the pale, sickly form of rampant Grittism, and asks you to believe what he says. He prates of the deeds of the great fathers of reform; he talks of proud achievements, of fights fought and victories won; and boasts of principles that stand as firm to-day as the rocks (cheers); yet he would convince you that this semblance which he flaunts before you has something of the grand old Liberalism of fifty years ago (cheers). It has not (loud cries of "no"). When he tells you this, look up in his face and say perhaps you have not so great a mind as he; perhaps you are not so calm and have not so serene a soul (laughter)—but you have common sense, and you are not going to accept any sham shibboleth. Look at the issues. When he tells you these things, say you don't care whether he calls himself a Whig or a Liberal, but if he does not explain the public issues you cannot vote for him. Look in their press. Look at their first, second, third, forth and fifth-class orators. What is the way in which they approach a discussion? I say it—and I say it to their shame—their chief weapon is not argument, but abuse. From that little scold in Toronto—the *Globe* (laughter)—down to the smallest scold in its wake, do they give fair play? Can you point to one instance they have given credit, in which they have accorded justice to their opponents? (Cries of "no, no, no.") If you can, I can't. It is "Boodler White," and never Mr. White; it is "Boodler Foster," never Mr. Foster. Their language is out of a vocabulary of slang and abuse. Ladies and gentlemen, abuse is not argument (cheers).

A voice—What about the *Mail?*

Mr. Foster—Yes, I will take up the *Mail*. If you place the two papers side by side, I ask any unprejudiced person which carries itself in the most courteous manner in debate. Abuse, I say again, is not argument; it is not a sign of a good cause. You have heard boys at school say, "in a quarrel, when I run out of other things I will use rocks." But our opponents do not even use rocks; they use mud balls (laughter). Their policy is slander and falsehood and abuse. It is hard to say, but from Mr. Blake down, they all use it. It was the Government policy to aid the development of railways by granting a subsidy of $3,200 a mile. That subsidy they grant upon certain terms, but Mr. Blake denounces it as wholesale robbery and corruption, and seeks to make you believe that every member who works for a subsidy and gets it, sits in Parliament as the paid slave of the Government. Mr. Foster then went into the merits of Mr. Burns' case, which Mr. Blake has retailed everywhere. The facts were given, and they showed how Mr. Blake had descended to the plan of slander. Mr. Foster said: You will find there was nothing statesmanlike about his dealing with that case. It was simply slander, and nothing else could be made out of it, and when the people come to decide on these matters they will decide rightly (cheers). I wish to take up some bits of things, and to do this I am going to read what Mr. Blake said at Welland and Owen Sound. At Owen Sound Mr. Blake made the assertion that Government supporters fight shy of their record, and try to cover up their policy. I ask you to judge between us. Read the papers. Listen to the addresses. Has the Government in its present tour ever shirked a single question as to policy? You heard the Minister of the Interior. Did he talk about everything else and not touch the North-west question? or did he go straight to his own policy and lay before you everything connected with that? Did he shirk it? (Cries of "no, no.") He has done the same thing all over this country, and as he has done so have the other Ministers. So do the supporters of the Government. They do not shirk the policy of the Government. They glory in it (cheers). It is their title to the confidence of the people, and only by laying the facts before the people, and sweeping away the cobwebs of error which these men throw about, do they hope to get a verdict in this country (cheers). If Mr. Blake will make a statement like that in the face of the people who know better, what will he say about subjects with which the people are not supposed to be so well informed? But what does Mr. Blake do? Does he never throw dust? I just ask you to take

two of Mr. Blake's speeches. One was given in Orillia and another in Toronto. One in a far-off place and the other in the metropolis of Ontario. Take them as samples—read and digest them thoroughly, and see whether Mr. Blake in his wanderings through the country throws no dust in the eyes of the electors. At Orillia we took up the Government policy in detail, and defended it. Mr. Blake was there after we were, and we expected that he would take up the questions that we discussed, and turn them inside out. Take the *Globe* report and read it. What did Mr. Blake do? Why, in the first part of his speech he took up the question of Sir John Macdonald's sickness. He wondered whether Sir John was as sick as he said he was, or whether he was only "foxing," and after balancing the *pros* and *cons* for a time, he came to the sapient conclusion that he was "foxing" (laughter). The next "public" question discussed by Mr. Blake in this speech—and this important question takes up one and a half columns of the *Globe* report—was whether Mr. Blake should be likened to Haman or Mordecai! After holding the audience breathless on this momentous question, he concluded that the shoes and raiment of Mordecai would fit him best, and so announced to the beaming satisfaction of himself and the great delight of his followers (laughter). After that he took up his Orange speech, and his remarks on that speech fill three and a-half columns in the *Globe*. He discussed how many people heard it, who said "Hear, hear," and when they said it (laughter). That's the question of to-day. According to Mr. Blake these little side issues, like the Canadian Pacific Railway, the National Policy, the development of the country, are not to be talked of in the same breath (laughter.) The next topic in this speech, which fills nine columns of the *Globe* in all, was whether the *Globe* was an independent journal or not. He went carefully into its principles and policy, and announced as the result of his research that no more worthy, independent, honest, accurate, courteous and liberal newspaper existed than the *Globe*, and that the *Mail* was not a candle to an electric light in comparison. Then in his concluding sentences he pronounced the Tory Government as no ood, and hoped the people would turn it out and put him in their place. Of argument to prove our wickedness, Mr. Blake had not one word. If you don't believe me, scrape up 10 cents and buy a *Globe*. Yet Mr. Blake tells us the Conservatives are trying to throw dirt in the eyes of the electors, and to keep him from discussing the public questions on their merits, and preventing his keen intellect from putting the facts fairly before them. In Toronto Mr. Blake delivered another speech, and you would think that there, if anywhere—in the capital of this Province—Mr. Blake would confine his discussion to the public questions of the day, and make a speech that might be of strength to his party. What did he do? He looked up the Bill passed by Sir John Macdonald in 1872 to legalize trades unions, and asked if he did not amend it, or if it should not be amended in some place where it was not. In the next place he spoke of free trade and protection. He used the argument that there was no chance of our returning to a duty for revenue policy, because the country wanted revenue, and would have to maintain a protective tariff to meet the increased expenditures. Did you ever hear such nonsense? For a man to say that a protective tariff is a better means of raising money than a non-protective tariff, is sheer rot. The revenue from duties in England, where not one single branch of trade or manufactures is protected, is $12 per head, and the revenue from the same source in Canada, where there is a protection policy, is only $7 per head. Mr. Blake did not express his honest sentiments in this matter. He is a free trader in his heart still, and is saturated with the principle down to the sole of his boots, and so are Mr. Charlton, Mr. Mills, Mr. Patterson, and all the other prominent men in the Reform party in Ontario. But Mr. Blake has read the writing of 1878 and 1882, and he sees the same hand in 1888, and he knows that the people of this country don't want to go back to the beggarly days of free trade, but instead of acknowledging the will and voice of the sovereign people and telling them—Be it so if you will have it, so he tells them—We can't go back to free trade, because we want a revenue and must have it. Mr. Blake went on to discuss another matter of some importance—the question of the manufacturers—and to-day Mr. Blake has a rather wholesome dread of the manufacturing industries of the country which he has so long and so mercilessly ridiculed. The artisans and the farmers see that they are in a measure bound up with the prosperity of our manufacturing industries, so that the men, their work and the produce of the farmer may be kept in Canada (cheers). What does Mr. Blake say? "Oh, you manufacturers don't need to fear, because we have to raise a high revenue, and that will be sufficient protection to you." Will it? There can be the highest protection with a loss of revenue. Take the duty off articles that can be manufactured here, and you get the result in the flooding of our markets with goods in a

way that would ruin our trade and our industries. I say to you as workingmen, don't pay any heed to these men, who try to raise a barrier between you and the manufacturers. Your true interests are identified with the manufacturers. Who are seeking to raise antagonism? I say the Liberals to-day go through the country and try to raise up antagonism between labor and capital. Now, ladies and gentlemen, as to the National Policy—let me give you a single illustration (cheers). Let us say there are 500 artisans resident in a town, and 500 farmers who live within a certain radius. They raise a quantity of grain—which may be consumed in a foreign market, but they also have meat, produce, etc., which they want to sell at home. The artisans with their wives and families want to buy. The farmers say, "We have this produce to sell, and you want it; now, you buy off us, and we can get along well together." The artisans say, "We are willing to buy your produce, but we are out of work and have no money to buy with; if you can show us any way by which we can get work and earn some money, then we can purchase of you, and you buy our goods, and we shall all get along very nicely." So the artisans go to the capitalist and say, "Here are these five hundred farmers who are willing to help us and buy our goods; will you give us work?" And the capitalist replies, "Yes, but I must be assured that if I invest my capital and erect my mills I will have protection, so that I can make a reasonable profit, but if not I cannot employ you." So they all go to the Government and explain the case and say, "We can manufacture these goods by Canadian labor, and so keep our people and money in Canada." That is the essence of the National Policy (loud cheers) But our opponents say, "What becomes of the grand old maxim, to 'buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets?'" It is a grand maxim, but can you practice it? The dearest market is over there (the United States), but can you get to it? So long as they prevent you from getting in and put up a high tariff wall, we must put our energies into operation here, build our own factories, and give employment to our own people (cheers). So we will prosper. But Mr. Blake went a little further, and spoke of the workingman and to the workingmen. He says, Your lot is miserable in this country; it is more than miserable, it is almost intolerable. And when they look up with keen astonishment in his face, he says: "This terrible Tory Government takes out of you by its terrible policy $45 from every workingman's family, and puts it in the strong box at Ottawa. Mr. Blake cannot prove that the workingman's family pay one-fifth of that sum (cheers); but his object was to make them uneasy and discontented, in the hope that it would be turned to account of himself and against the party in power. He went on to say that he had a panacea, and took two bottles out of his pocket; one was labelled, "Graduated Income Tax," and the other "Succession Tax." He shook them, and just when they got ready to take it he said: "I have no intention of administering any medicine from either of these bottles; I cannot do it; it is a matter for the Provincial Government" (laughter). After having made them miserable, and flaunting the medicine in their faces, he puts it back into his trousers pocket and says: "I haven't the power to offer you this medicine" (laughter and cheers). That was about all he said to the workingmen, except to advise them to follow the Golden Rule, to do to others as they would be done by. These are examples of how Mr. Blake takes up and ably expounds to the people his policy with reference to the great questions of the day. Now, I wish to read to you from another address of Mr. Blake's, in which he says: "The normal function of an Opposition is mainly critical." He also said they had grounds for dissent, and more excellent methods to follow. This came from a taunt from Mr. Blake to show his policy. Some say *Grip* is Grit, and others say it is not. I don't care whether it is or not. It gets off some mighty good hits. When Parliament was about sitting two years ago, and the magnates were on their way to Ottawa, *Grip* came out with a picture of Mr. Blake, with his broad, slouch hat, wending his way on solemn march to the capital. Hanging by his side was a very slim satchel. In the picture was a little urchin looking up into Mr. Blake's face, and from the mouth of the little fellow is proceeding the words, "Hello, Mr. Blake, going to Ottawa? you forgot your policy," (great laughter). If Mr. Blake forgot his policy, then, he has not remembered to get it ever since. He is always taunted about it. At last he made up his mind to speak out, and when giving an answer to an address by Young Liberals, he took up that question with respect to the main duty of the Opposition being critical. If he had said the main duty of *this* Opposition—meaning his own—he would have struck it (cheers and laughter). Mr. Blake's criticism is always destructive, but when you come to ask for a constructive policy, I ask you where it is to be found in the history of Mr. Blake's utterances or in the party he represents? His course has been that of pulling down what others put up (hear, hear). Gentle-

men, you have a perfect right to look into Mr. Blake's face in this great country of five millions of people, with its great future before it, and demand of the man who asks you to change from the present policy to tell you what he proposes to do in the future (cheers). Mr. Blake may talk of the policy of the Opposition being critical until he is blind, but he can never make the people believe that it is common sense to step off a solid plank into vacancy (cheers). We used to play when children a great many games, and one I remember ran something thus:—

"Open your mouth, and shut you're eyes
And I'll give you something to make you wise."

Mr. Blake stands before you, and when you have got all ready, he says "Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and probably I'll give you something to make you wise." But what it is he doesn't tell you (laughter and cheers). Here is another tid-bit from Mr. Blake, in his speech at Chesley:—"To tell you that by Act of Parliament we can make you rich is what I cannot do. I do not believe it can be done." There is a statement! Whoever asked Mr. Blake to say that he believed that by mere Act of Parliament we could make a man rich? Take the poorest man you have in London; put him in this hall; introduce a Bill in Parliament saying that So-and-so shall become rich. We carry it through the Senate and the Governor-General signs it. Does the poor man really become wealthy? Did anyone ever say that? No! But what Mr. Blake is combatting is that by certain arrangements of the public tariff the country cannot be helped to make itself rich, and he puts it in that way in order to make you believe his argument is well founded. That would be unstatesman-like. But you will agree with me that it is a fundamental truth in politics that it is possible for the Government, by wise enactments, to make it possible for the country to become wealthy, and to help the people to take advantage of their natural possessions, and to make themselves rich. Take, for example, the older provinces after Confederation. For a time we almost stood still, and the young men, as they grew up, went to the United States. By and by we came to know that we had a North-west. The purchase of that country was agreed on, with some opposition from our opponents, and it became a possession of the Canadian people. At the time we got it not a single blade of wheat was grown there, and nothing of value came out of it, because we had no means of communication with it, and it was unknown and undeveloped. To that great necessity, and to bring under tribute its millions of acres of fruitful soil, the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, and it had a great deal to do with the development of the country. Last year millions of bushels of wheat went out from that lately barren wilderness, and it is filling up and will fill up, until not many years will pass before it will have many Provinces as progressive, as wealthy and as prosperous as Ontario is to-day. Mr. Blake said he did not believe we could make anything of it, and has ever since the acquisition of the territory followed our policy concerning it with the most malignant, base and untiring enmity. If it had not been for the N. P. not a single dollar's worth of oil would now be produced at Petrolea. Pennsylvania's oil wells would swamp ours. Now we have 8,000 people living in comfortable circumstances and maintained directly or indirectly by that one industry. Go with me to St. Stephens, a little town in the eastern part of this Dominion, and the same state of things exists in the cotton industry. One million and a-half of dollars is invested there, and $20,000 wages paid monthly. There are now streets in that town occupied with the homes of working people employed in the cotton mill, and the manager told me that he could not go on for one month if it were not for protection; also that they were working now on the smallest margin of profit he had ever worked on, but orders were so brisk he could not fill them all, and they were making money. Note this, cottons are cheaper now than ever before, and there are those good citizens kept in Canada. The manager of this mill is from the United States, and he knows if the N. P. was done away with the mills of Massachusetts and Maine, where he has worked, would shut the Canadian mill up. Mr. Blake says protection won't help us, but in the days when he was in power a little of this remedy would have done a lot of good, and kept at home thousands of good, honest workers who were driven to the United States. Then Sir John was in Opposition. Did he come before you and say that the duty of the Opposition was mainly critical, and that they were not forced to have a policy? No. He formulated a policy that has proved an immense benefit to the country (loud cheers). He heard the walls of the workingmen, he heeded their appeals for relief, he founded the National Policy (cheers), he put it in execution, and from that has been given us millions more of money than we had in 1878. To-day men are employed; they get full wages. All industries are in active operation. I have not passed through one

town or city that did not have its industries working on full time, and over the whole Province the people are happy and contented in proportion (loud cheers). I tell you you *can* make the people happy and prosperous by wise and prudent laws. Then, let us take sugar refining. In 1878 only 8,000,000 pounds were refined here; all the rest was brought in in the finished state. Now, what is the case? In 1885 some 200,000,000 pounds of sugar was brought in, and of that 190,000,000 pounds was raw sugar, every ounce of which was refined in Canada (cheers). You can go down to Nova Scotia, and I can show you refineries which were not there before the National Policy. Cases on cases of raw sugar stand on every side awaiting refining, and every portion of the operation is performed in Canada, affording a market for our manufacturers, and giving employment to labor. The people get their sugar cheaper in price than ever, but our own workingmen get work. But "you can't make people rich by Act of Parliament" (laughter). In a country like ours the Government must do more than fill the executive benches and administer the laws (cheers). It is their duty to look out for the future, and to lay out the foundations strong and wide, so that the future may bring forth good results. This Government did so (renewed cheers). In 1882 they took their life in their hands, and undertook to build that railroad that has become the greatest enterprise in the history of the world. They said, This Confederation is not worth the paper it is written on if we do not write it all, if we do not open through a line to permeate it in every part and permit of its easy settlement. Where was Mr. Blake then? He was down among you fighting against that road. But the Government carried it through to the successful issue (cheers). In 1885—five years before the time promised—the last spike was driven, and the line has now a lucrative business, making a great draft upon the great riches of the west, and drawing through the Sault Ste. Marie canal the vast traffic that before was diverted in other channels. That is a road of which to-day every one feels proud as a Canadian, a line which gives our country honor and stateliness in the eyes of the world (loud cheers.) I know I am wearying your patience, but then I don't often get you, and so I must speak to you now (laughter). I wish to say a few words about the public debt. We are all found of money, and when we get it—while we should not be either a miser or a spendthrift—we should take care of it. Then the question of the public debt is an important one on account of the criticism which is put upon it Mr. Blake talks about it, first as to amount. When he was talking up at Chesley he said that the public debt was now two hundred and twenty million dollars, and would soon be two hundred and forty millions. Keep that in your head. He got down to Galt and there he said the debt was $300 for each family. Take the population, divide it by five, and you have nine hundred and forty thousand families. Multiply that by 300 and it gives a net debt of $282,000,000. He winds that all up together and throws it at the farmer, saying, "there is a mortgage for that amount on your farm. You don't know it's there, but it's there all the same, and you're the man who's got to pay it." Now, I propose to make you a statement of the facts of the case, both of the last published accounts and of the debt as it now is. On the 1st of July, 1885, the gross debt was $264,000,000, but you have a poor idea of the state of this country if you look upon that as being its position. Here is a man by name of Timothy Tompkins. I am going to have some dealings with him, so I go to his neighbor and ask him about his standing. The neighbor replies, "he owes so-and-so $1,000; so-and-so $500; in fact, he owes $10,000. Don't you have anything to do with him. He's just tumbling over the steep of bankruptcy. I say, I don't think you're fair. How many good debts has he? How many good mortgages has he on property? How much is reducible to money? Put that down and I will get at the real financial position of Timothy Tompkins. Let us be as honest with the country as with our neighbor. In carrying out this illustration Mr. Foster showed that the net indebtedness was but $196,000,000, against which it should be remembered that $106,000,000 had been assumed from the Provinces, and for the remaining $90,000,000 we had the Intercolonial Railway, costing $32,000,000, canals costing $28,000,000, and the Canadian Pacific Railway, costing $57,000,000 (cheers.) He could extend the list very much, but those three items alone represented more than the remaining sum to be accounted for. The essence of the whole debt question, however, was the interest, which was really the only burden resting upon the people. That in 1879 had been but $1.59 per head of the population; and in 1885 it stood at exactly the same amount (cheers). With the increase of 1886 the interest would still on the 1st of January next be $1.59 (cheers). Mr. Foster explained that this was caused by the growth of the population and the enhanced credit of the country. Continuing, he said:—I cannot leave this platform without

saying one word with reference to the question wich is uppermost in all minds at this moment—the Riel matter. What does the *Globe* say? For days before the execution it called him a villain of the deepest dye, and threatened vengeance on the Government if he was not executed, and yet in December, 1886, it asks if Riel was not a martyr, and if the half-breed rebels did not deserve credit for their actions. Laurier calls him a hero and a patriot, and Mercier compares him to Christ on the cross and calls him a martyr to the cause of liberty, and Mr. Blake links hands with these men and comes here and calls them his dearest friends, and vouches for their loyalty. Have Canadians sunk so low? Are all the great names on the pages of history, from those who wrung the charter of liberty from King John, to be insulted by this companionship? Are the ashes of the illustrious dead to be insulted by having thrust in amongst them the coffin of this transgressor of the most solemn laws. He is a murderer, and I can prove it from Mr. Blake's own words. (The speaker then read the resolution of Mr. Blake's offering $5,000 for Riel's capture, the words beginning the resolution being—"the cold-blooded murder.") What do the friends of those whose hearts were exposed to the rebels' bullets think of this? Riel was a retail murderer when he caused poor Scott's death, but he was a wholesale murderer when he incited the Indians to revolt. He sent word to Poundmaker to rise, plunder, burn and destroy, and Poundmaker sent word back that he had done so, and the bodies of the murdered missionaries and women lay cold and still in death on the prairies. Have we fallen so low that we must burrow among the murderers and traitors to find our heroes? The half breeds and Indians had no grievances; they were as free as the air when they raised the rebellion which was put down by the loyal sons of Canada, and yet Laurier comes here and defends this crime, and when goaded to it in Windsor the other day he repeated the statement he had made before, that if he had been on the banks of the Saskatchewan he would have taken up a musket against these our loyal sons and brothers. And if I had been a volunteer and at the command of my country, followed by the fervent prayers and tender wishes of the people, I would have put a bullet in that rebel's heart—(loud cheers)—and thanked God for letting me do it—(immense applause)—thanked God that there was one less rebel to pollute this fair earth of ours. (At this point the applause was something immense, the vast audience rising to their feet and cheering for several minutes in the most enthusiastic manner). That is just my sentiment (renewed cheers). I have felt ashamed ever since it came up that a matter of such a character as the Riel case should have been dragged into politics. I lay it to the charge of Edward Blake. If when he came back from Europe and spoke to the people here in London, he had taken the ground that Riel was rightfully hanged, that he had been tried, found guilty and executed, and if he had affirmed the principle of one law for all, we would have had none of this miserable business to-day (loud cheers). We have it because the leader of the Liberal party in London first, afterwards in Ottawa—through a secret arrangement with Laurier—and again in the House, held out his hand to the friends of the rebellion, and but for that we would have none of this. Mr. Blake talks of our political morality. I hurl it back in his face, and ask him what of his political morality? Is it right to trifle with the great principle of "one law for all?" There are repealers in Nova Scotia, and every one of these who desires to destroy the Union is a Grit and a follower of Mr. Blake's. In New Brunswick there are annexationists, who seek allegiance with another nation. If Mr. Blake had said that he did not sympathize with such men and could not support those who entertained such views, he might be respected. But he came with a burning ember in one hand and a knife in the other to destroy our glorious Confederation. Young men, I ask you to look at the two flags that float so proudly above you—one bearing the inscription, "One law for all," "Confederation must be preserved," while overshadowing everything else beneath its shelter, waving grandly in undimmed glory, floats the proud flag of imperial Britain, the federation of which we form a part and with which we hope ever to remain a happy, prosperous and contented people. Mr. Foster resumed his seat amidst the most hearty and long sustained applause from the large gathering which had remained rapt in almost breathless attention during the delivery of the eloquent and logical address.